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FROM WASHINGTON

TO AIG 6006, 6007

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NATO CONFIDENTIAL FROM WASHINGTON

POLITICAL ANALYSIS: PONOMAREV DEFENDS DETENTE AT

BUDAPEST MEETING

1. THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED PREPARATORY

MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN BUDAPEST

(DECEMBER 19-21) WAS SOVIET PARTY SECRETARY PONOMAREV'S

PARTICULARLY STRONG DEFENSE OF SOVIET DETENTE POLICY.

PONOMAREV OBVIOUSLY WAS RESPONDING TO RECURRENT COMMUNIST CRITICISM OF THE THRUST OF SOVIET DETENTE PRIORITIES.

HE ARGUED THAT MOSCOW'S POLICY WAS THE BEST INSTRUMENT FOR ADVANCING THE INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE SOVIET UNION BUT ALSO OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

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2. THE TONE OF BOTH HIS SPEECH AND THE COMMUNIQUE WINDING UP THE MEETING INDICATE THAT MOSCOW IS STILL ENCOUNTERING

RESISTANCE TO ITS VIEWS REGARDING THE AGENDA FOR A FULL MEETING OF EUROPEAN PARTIES, AS WELL AS TO ITS PROPOSALS ON A FUTURE WORLD COMMUNIST MEETING.

3. PONOMAREV'S DEFENSE OF DETENTE WAS CLEARLY RESPONSIVE TO CRITICS WITHIN SOME EUROPEAN PARTIES WHO CONTEND THAT MOSCOW, PREOCCUPIED WITH THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP, IS EQUATING DETENTE WITH THE STATUS QUO AND THUS PREJUDICING FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE LOCAL PARTIES. AMONG OTHER POINTS, PONOMAREV:

(A)--LAUDED BREZHNEV'S RECENT MEETINGS WITH WESTERN LEADERS;

(B)--REITERATED THE DEMAND THAT DETENTE BE MADE IRREVOCABLE;

(C)--SAW THE EARLIER WARSAW CONSULTATIVE MEETING (OCTOBER 16-18) AS SHOWING THAT EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS HAD "GENERALLY COMMON VIEWS" ON THE MAJOR ISSUES OF PEACE, SECURITY, AND SOCIAL PROGRESS; AND

(D)--SAID THAT A WORLD CONFERENCE WOULD ADVANCE THIS PROGRAM STILL FURTHER.

4. SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVELY, PONOMAREV BRUSHED ASIDE THE ARGUMENT THAT INCREASED ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EXCHANGES WITH THE WEST WILL STRENGTHEN CAPITALISM; HE CLAIMED INSTEAD THAT SOVIET TRADE AND EXCHANGES WITH THE WEST ONLY HELP THE WORKERS THERE. HIS STATEMENT WAS REMINISCENT OF AN EARLIER, BITTER EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE BENEFITS AND DRAWBACKS OF DETENTE. AS IN THAT POLEMIC, PONOMAREV NOW ADVOCATED EXPANDING TRADE AND EXCHANGES IN ORDER TO underscore THE UNFAVORABLE CONTRAST BETWEEN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE WEST AND IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES--THE SOVIET UNION PARTICULARLY.

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5. PONOMAREV ALSO HELD THAT TRADE COULD DEFUSE THE POSSIBLE DANGER FROM THE RIGHT THAT MIGHT ARISE IN THOSE COUNTRIES, WHERE THE ECONOMIC CRISIS TO GO UNCHECKED. IN EFFECT, PONOMAREV EQUATED A GROWING RIGHTIST DANGER IN WESTERN EUROPE WITH A GROWING DANGER OF MILITARIZATION AND WAR, THREATENING NOT ONLY THE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE WEST BUT ALSO THE MAINTENANCE OF

PEACE ITSELF.

6. PONOMAREV EMPHASIZED "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND ATTACKED "EUROPO-CENTRISM." BOTH THEMES SEEM TO REFLECT CONTINUING SOVIET CONCERN OVER THE TENDENCY OF EUROPEAN PARTIES TO GIVE PRIMARY ATTENTION TO THEIR OWN AFFAIRS AND TO GIVE A PURELY EUROPEAN SLANT TO THE PROPOSED COMMUNIST MEETINGS. "BROADENING DETENTE, AND REINFORCING IT," AS WELL AS SOLIDARITY WITH THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE "OF PEOPLES EVERYWHERE"--THAT IS, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM--STILL MUST HOLD FIRST PLACE, IN MOSCOW'S VIEW.

7. LINKED WITH THIS EXHORTATION WAS PONOMAREV'S CHARGE THAT "DIFFERENT QUARTERS" ALWAYS ARE ATTEMPTING TO PLAY ON NATIONALIST SENTIMENT, THEREBY UNDERMINING THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. IT WAS A POINTED ALLUSION TO EFFORTS BY ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, AND KEY NON-RULING WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTIES, TO STEER A COURSE MORE INDEPENDENT OF SOVIET DIRECTION.

8. ON THE SENSITIVE ISSUES OF A WORLD MEETING AND THE EVER-PRESENT CHINESE PROBLEM, PONOMAREV TOOK REFUGE IN CIRCUMLOCUTION. BUT HIS BLUNT ATTACKS ON "ANTI-SOVIETISM," AND HIS DEMAND THAT A FUTURE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE SHOULD NAME THE ENEMIES OF DETENTE, SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIETS INTEND TO KEEP THE CHINA ISSUE ALIVE. HIS ALLUSIONS TO "BROADER SUPPORT" FOR "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" REFLECTED THE CONTINUING SOVIET INTEREST IN A WORLD MEETING. THESE ROUNDABOUT REFERENCES (WHICH ARE NOT REFLECTED IN THE COMMUNIQUE) ARE BOUND TO GENERATE FURTHER SUSPICION THAT THE SOVIETS' ULTIMATE

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INTENTION IS TO HAVE CHINA PILLORIED AT A WORLD CONFERENCE.

9. NEITHER THE COMMUNIQUE NOR AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON THE PROCEEDINGS AT BUDAPEST INDICATES AGREEMENT ON A FIRM DATE FOR THE PROPOSED EUROPEAN PARTY MEETING. BOTH IMPLY MERELY THAT FURTHER SPECIAL GATHERINGS AND ADDITIONAL PREPARATORY MEETINGS MAY BE CALLED BEFORE A DATE WILL BE SET. THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE IS STILL SCHEDULED TENTATIVELY FOR SOME TIME IN THE FIRST PART OF 1975, PRESUMABLY AFTER THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION.

10. IN THIS CONNECTION, BOTH PONOMAREV AND THE COMMUNIQUE SPOKE OF AN URGENT NEED, AS WELL AS FAVORABLE

PROSPECTS, FOR A SUMMIT-LEVEL CONSUMMATION OF THE CSCE.

PONOMAREV JOINED THIS THEME WITH AN EXHORTATION ON THE NEED FOR PROGRESS AT THE MBFR VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, CLAIMING THAT THE PARTIES AT BUDAPEST BACKED THE SOVIET CALL FOR REINFORCING POLITICAL DETENTE WITH MILITARY DETENTE. KISSINGER

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